

## Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /011 R

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DRAFTED BY: ACDA/D /SALT:JPTIMBIE

APPROVED BY: ACDA/D/SALT:JPTIMBIE

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P 121924Z FEB 75

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

S E C R E T STATE 032178

EXDIS - SALT

REF: MOSCOW 1863

FOLLOWING FOR YOUR INFORMATION ONLY IS SOVIET DRAFT SALT AGREE-  
MENT.

FOLLOWING REPEAT SALT TWO GENEVA 0010 ACTION SECSTATE,  
FEBRUARY 1ST:

QUTTE

S E C R E T SALT TWO GENEVA 0010

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SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDSI

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: SOVIET DRAFT AGREEMENT (SALT TWO-499)

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THE FOLLOWING IS ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF SOVIET DRAFT AGREEMENT  
TABLED BY MINISTER SEMENOV TODAY

QUOTE

DRAFT  
AGREEMENT

BETWEEN THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS  
AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ON THE LIMITA-  
TION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS

THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS AND THE UNITED  
STATES OF AMERICA, HEREINAFTER REFERRED TO AS THE PARTIES,

CONSCIOUS THAT NUCLEAR WAR WOULD HAVE DEVASTATING  
CONSEQUENCES FOR ALL MANKIND,

PROCEEDING FROM THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF RELATIONS  
BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE U.S. OF MAY 29, 1972, AND THE  
AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE U.S. ON PREVENTION OF  
NUCLEAR WAR OF JUNE 22, 1973,

ATTACHING GREAT SIGNIFICANCE TO THE LIMITATION OF  
STRATEGIC ARMS AND NOTING THE IMPORTANCE OF PREVIOUS AGREE-  
MENTS ON THIS SUBJECT, INCLUDING THE INTERIM AGREEMENT  
BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE U.S. OF MAY 26, 1972 ON CERTAIN  
MEASURES WITH RESPECT TO THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC  
OFFENSIVE ARMS, WHICH SHALL REMAIN IN FORCE UNTIL OCTOBER, 1977,

CONVINCED THAT THE FURTHER MEASURES LIMITING STRATEGIC  
OFFENSIVE ARMS, PROVIDED FOR IN THIS AGREEMENT, CONSTITUTE  
A SUBSTANTIAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS  
BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE U.S., HELP TO REDUCE THE RISK OF  
OUTBREAK OF NUCLEAR WAR AND TO STRENGTHEN INTERNATIONAL  
PEACE AND SECURITY,

MINDFUL OF THEIR OBLIGATIONS UNDER ARTICLE VI OF  
THE TREATY ON THE NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS,

GUIDED BY THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL  
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SECURITY OF THE PARTIES,

DECLARING THEIR INTENTION TO TAKE FURTHER MEASURES  
TO LIMIT AND REDUCE STRATEGIC ARMS, HAVING IN MIND THE  
GOAL OF ACHIEVING GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT,  
ENCOMPASSING BOTH NUCLEAR ARMS AND CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS,

HAVE AGREED AS FOLLOWS:

ARTICLE I

EACH PARTY UNDERTAKES TO LIMIT STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE  
ARMS QUANTITATIVELY AND QUALITATIVELY, AND TO EXERCISE  
RESTRAINT IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW TYPES OF STRATEGIC

OFFENSIVE ARMS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THIS AGREEMENT.

## ARTICLE II

1. EACH PARTY UNDERTAKES TO LIMIT DELIVERY VEHICLES FOR STRATEGIC WEAPONS TO AN AGGREGATE NUMBER NOT TO EXCEED 2,400 UNITS.

2. THE FOLLOWING SHALL BE COUNTED IN THE AGGREGATE NUMBER MENTIONED IN PARAGRAPH 1 OF THIS ARTICLE:

(A) LAND-BASED INTERCONTINENTAL BALLISTIC MISSILE (ICBM) LAUNCHERS;

(B) SUBMARINE-LAUNCHED BALLISTIC MISSILE (SLBM) LAUNCHERS;

(C) HEAVY BOMBERS, IF THEY ARE EQUIPPED WITH BOMBS OR AIR-TO-SURFACE MISSILES WITH A RANGE OF NOT MORE THAN 600 KILOMETERS; WHEN BOMBERS ARE EQUIPPED WITH AIR-TO-SURFACE MISSILES OF ANY TYPE WITH A RANGE OF MORE THAN 600 KILOMETERS, EACH SUCH MISSILE WILL BE COUNTED AS ONE UNIT IN THE ABOVE AGGREGATE NUMBER.

## ARTICLE III

1. WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THE AGGREGATE NUMBER OF DELIVERY SECRET

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VEHICLES FOR STRATEGIC WEAPONS, PROVIDED FOR IN ARTICLE II, PARAGRAPH 1, EACH PARTY SHALL HAVE THE RIGHT TO DETERMINE THE COMPOSITION OF THE AGGREGATE OF THESE DELIVERY VEHICLES, SUBJECT TO THE PROVISIONS OF PARAGRAPH 2 OF THIS ARTICLE.

2. THE PARTIES UNDERTAKE NOT TO START CONSTRUCTION OF ADDITIONAL FIXED LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS.

## ARTICLE IV

THE PARTIES UNDERTAKE NOT TO CONVERT LAND-BASED LAUNCHERS FOR LIGHT ICBM'S, OR FOR ICBM'S OF OLDER TYPES DEPLOYED PRIOR TO 1964, INTO LAND-BASED LAUNCHERS FOR HEAVY ICBM'S OF TYPES DEPLOYED AFTER THAT TIME.

## ARTICLE V

1. WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THE AGGREGATE NUMBER OF DELIVERY VEHICLES FOR STRATEGIC WEAPONS, PROVIDED FOR IN ARTICLE II, PARAGRAPH 1, EACH PARTY UNDERTAKES TO LIMIT THE NUMBER OF LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS AND SLBM LAUNCHERS, WITH MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MULTIPLE INDEPENDENTLY TARGETABLE RE-ENTRY VEHICLES, TO AN AGGREGATE NUMBER NOT TO EXCEED 1,320 UNITS.

2. WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THE AGGREGATE NUMBER PROVIDED FOR IN PARAGRAPH 1 OF THIS ARTICLE EACH PARTY SHALL HAVE THE RIGHT TO DETERMINE THE TYPES AND NUMBERS OF LAUNCHERS WITH MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH SUCH RE-ENTRY VEHICLES.

#### ARTICLE VI

THE LIMITATIONS PROVIDED FOR IN THIS AGREEMENT SHALL APPLY TO THOSE ARMS WHICH ARE:

(A) OPERATIONAL;

(B) PLACED IN RESERVE OR MOTHBALLED;

(C) IN THE FINAL STAGE OF CONSTRUCTION, OR UNDERGOING REPAIR OR MODERNIZATION.

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#### ARTICLE VII

WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THE AGGREGATE NUMBER OF DELIVERY VEHICLES FOR STRATEGIC WEAPONS, PROVIDED FOR IN ARTICLE II, PARAGRAPH 1, EACH PARTY UNDERTAKES TO LIMIT SLBM LAUNCHERS ON SUBMARINES OF A NEW TYPE TO A NUMBER NOT TO EXCEED 240 UNITS.

#### ARTICLE VIII

THE PARTIES UNDERTAKE NOT TO EQUIP ANY TYPE OF AIRPLANE, HELICOPTER OR OTHER AIRCRAFT, OTHER THAN THE BOMBERS MENTIONED IN ARTICLE II, PARAGRAPH 2(C), WITH AIR-TO-SURFACE MISSILES WITH A RANGE OF MORE THAN 600 KILOMETERS, AND NOT TO USE TRANSPORT AIRPLANES AS DELIVERY VEHICLES FOR NUCLEAR WEAPONS OR CONVERT THEM FOR THESE PURPOSES.

#### ARTICLE IX

EACH PARTY UNDERTAKES NOT TO DEVELOP, TEST OR DEPLOY;

(A) CRUISE MISSILES OF INTERCONTINENTAL RANGE;

(B) SEA-BASED CRUISE MISSILES WITH A RANGE OF MORE THAN 600 KILOMETERS;

(C) BALLISTIC MISSILES WITH A RANGE OF MORE THAN 600 KILOMETERS ON WATERBORNE VEHICLES OTHER THAN SUBMARINES;

(D) FIXED OR MOBILE INSTALLATION FOR LAUNCHING BALLISTIC MISSILES, WHICH COULD BE EMPLACED ON THE SEA-BED OR OCEAN FLOOR OR IN THE SUBSOIL THEREOF, INCLUDING THE TERRITORIAL SEA AND INLAND WATERS, OR WHICH COULD MOVE ONLY

IN CONTACT WITH THE BOTTOM;

(E) SYSTEMS FOR PLACING NUCLEAR WEAPONS OR ANY OTHER  
KIND OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION INTO EARTH ORBIT;

(F) MULTIPLE I DEPENDENTLY TARGETABLE RE-ENTRY  
VEHICLES FOR AIR-TO-SURFACE MISSILES.

ARTICLE X

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SUBJECT TO THE PROVISIONS OF THIS AGREEMENT MODERNIZA-  
TION AND REPLACEMENT OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS MAY BE  
CARRIED OUT.

ARTICLE XI

DELIVERY VEHICLES FOR STRATEGIC WEAPONS IN EXCESS OF  
THE NUMBERS SPECIFIED IN THIS AGREEMENT MUST BE PUT IN A  
CONDITION WHICH PRECLUDES THEIR OPERATIONAL USE, BY  
DISMANTLING OR DESTRUCTION IN ACCORDANCE WITH AGREED  
PROCEDURES WITH AN AGREED PERIOD OF TIME.

ARTICLE XII

EACH PARTY UNDERTAKES NOT TO TRANSFER STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE  
ARMS TO OTHER STATES, AND NOT TO ASSIST IN THEIR DEVELOPMENT,  
IN PARTICULAR, BY TRANSFERRING COMPONENTS, TECHNICAL  
DESCRIPTIONS OR BLUEPRINTS FOR THESE ARMS.

ARTICLE XIII

GUIDED BY THE P  
INCIPLE OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY,  
THE PARTIES SHALL IN THE NEAR FUTURE CONTINUE CONSIDERATION  
OF THE QUESTION OF REDUCING NUCLEAR SYSTEMS WHICH, DUE TO  
THEIR GEOGRAPHIC DEPLOYMENT, ARE CAPABLE OF REACHING THE  
TERRITORY OF THE OTHER PARTY, AS WELL AS OF QUESTIONS  
RELATED TO THE EXISTENCE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THIRD COUNTRIES,  
AND IN 1980-1981 SHALL UNDERTAKE EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE AN  
AGREED SOLUTION.

ARTICLE XIV

THE LIMITATIONS PROVIDED FOR IN ARTICLE II OF THIS  
AGREEMENT SHALL NOT APPLY TO LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS OR  
SLBM LAUNCHERS, INTENDED FOR RESEARCH, TESTING OR TRAINING,  
OR TO ROCKET LAUNCHERS DEPLOYED AT SPACE CENTERS FOR SPACE  
RESEARCH AND SPACE FLIGHT.

ARTICLE XV

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1. FOR THE PURPOSE OF PROVIDING ASSURANCE OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THIS AGREEMENT, EACH PARTY SHALL USE NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF VERIFICATION AT ITS DISPOSAL IN A MANNER CONSISTENT WITH GENERALLY RECOGNIZED PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

2. EACH PARTY UNDERTAKES NOT TO INTERFERE WITH THE NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF VERIFICATION OF THE OTHER PARTY OPERATING IN ACCORDANCE WITH PARAGRAPH 1 OF THIS ARTICLE.

3. EACH PARTY UNDERTAKES NOT TO USE DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT MEASURES WHICH IMPEDE VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THIS AGREEMENT. THIS OBLIGATION SHALL NOT REQUIRE CHANGES IN CURRENT CONSTRUCTION, ASSEMBLY, CONVERSION, OR OVERHAUL PRACTICES.

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TITLE XVI

TO PROMOTE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE OBJECTIVES AND PROVISIONS OF THIS AGREEMENT, THE PARTIES SHALL USE THE STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION ESTABLISHED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE MEMORANDUM BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE USSR AND THE U.S. OF DECEMBER 21, 1972.

#### ARTICLE XVII

EACH PARTY UNDERTAKES NOT TO ASSUME ANY INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS WHICH WOULD CONFLICT WITH THIS AGREEMENT.

#### ARTICLE XVIII

THE PARTIES DECLARE THAT THEY WILL CONTINUE TO ACT IN A SPIRIT OF COOPERATION AIMED AT REDUCING THE RISK OF WAR AND LIMITING ARMAMENTS. NO LATER THAN 1980-1981 THEY WILL BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS ON THE QUESTION OF FURTHER LIMITATIONS AND POSSIBLE REDUCTIONS OF STRATEGIC ARMS.

#### ARTICLE XIX

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1. THIS AGREEMENT SHALL BE SUBJECT TO APPROVAL IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE ESTABLISHED PROCEDURES OF EACH PARTY.

THE AGREEMENT SHALL ENTER INTO FORCE ON THE DAY OF THE EXCHANGE OF APPROPRIATE DOCUMENTS AND WILL COVER THE PERIOD FROM OCTOBER 3, 1977 TO DECEMBER 31, 1985.

2. EACH PARTY SHALL, IN EXERCISING ITS NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY, HAVE THE RIGHT TO WITHDRAW FROM THIS AGREEMENT IF IT DECIDES THAT EXTRAORDINARY EVENTS RELATIVE TO THE SUBJECT MATTER OF THIS AGREEMENT HAVE JEOPARDIZED ITS SUPREME INTERESTS. IT SHALL GIVE NOTICE OF ITS DECISION TO THE OTHER PARTY SIX MONTHS PRIOR TO WITHDRAWAL FROM THE AGREEMENT. SUCH NOTICE SHALL INCLUDE A STATEMENT OF THE EXTRAORDINARY EVENTS THE NOTIFYING PARTY REGARDS AS HAVING JEOPARDIZED ITS SUPREME INTERESTS.

DONE AT.....ON.....1975, IN TWO COPIES, EACH IN THE RUSSIAN AND ENGLISH LANGUAGES, BOTH TEXTS BEING EQUALLY AUTHENTIC.

FOR THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS                      FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

UNQUOTE

JOHNSON  
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INGERSOLL

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 26 AUG 1999  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** SALT (ARMS CONTROL), ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 12 FEB 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** GarlanWA  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975STATE032178  
**Document Source:** ADS  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** ACDA/D /SALT:JPTIMBIE  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** n/a  
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**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
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**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t19750287/baaaagqn.tel  
**Line Count:** 349  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ORIGIN SS  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 7  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** GarlanWA  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 22 APR 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <22 APR 2003 by GarlanWA>; APPROVED <25 JUL 2003 by GarlanWA>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
05 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** n/a  
**TAGS:** PARM  
**To:** MOSCOW  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006